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Traditional Korea-China Ties Will Be Everlasting Like Mt. Changbai and Flow of River Yalu: Chinese Official

The May 20-25 visit of the Chinese Foreign Minister to Korea demonstrated to the whole world the traditional close friendship and militant unity between Korea and China.

Chinese Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian arrived in Pyongyang on May 20. This was his first foreign trip in the capacity of the Foreign Minister.

At the reception the DPRK Government hosted in honor of Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian on May 20, Mr. Wu Xueqian, who is also Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, said:

"We are comrades-in-arms and comrades with a common ideal. Everlasting will be close friendship and militant unity between us."

DPRK Foreign Minister Ho Dam said at the reception:

"The Korea-China friendship which was sealed in blood between the Korean and Chinese peoples and which has withstood all trials is indestructible and will be everlasting."

"Our people value the Korea-China friendship more than anything else and it is an unshakable faith and firm will of our people to make it shine forever generation after generation," stressed Foreign Minister Ho Dam who is concurrently vice-Premier.

At another reception hosted by the Chinese Ambassador to Korea on the evening of May 24, Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian said, "We hope that the friendly relations between China and Korea and the traditional friendship between the two peoples will be made everlasting like Mt. Changbai and the flow of the River Yalu by our joint efforts."

At the May 20 reception, the Chinese Foreign Minister expressed full support to the efforts by President Kim Il Sung and his Government to reunify the Korean Peninsula independently and peacefully and urged the withdrawal of U.S. troops from south Korea.

He said, "The present division of Korea into the north and the south and the tense confrontation between them are entirely ascribable to the U.S. imperialists' aggression and interference . . ."

"The United States must withdraw its troops from south Korea and discontinue its interference in the internal affairs of Korea," stressed the Chinese Foreign Minister.

He added, "The Chinese Government and people will never resolutely support the reunification proposal to establish a Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo advanced by President Kim Il Sung and firmly support tireless efforts of the Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country against the 'two Koreas' plot."

President Kim Il Sung May 23 received the Chinese Foreign Minister who visited the DPRK for an official goodwill visit at the invitation of the DPRK Government. (KCNA Radiophoto)

During his six-day visit to the DPRK, the Chinese Foreign Minister held a series of talks with the Korean counterpart.

President Kim Il Sung May 23 received the Chinese Foreign Minister and had a talk with him in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The Korean leader arranged a luncheon for the Chinese guest.

23 Politicians Join Kim Yong Sam in Hunger Strike To Press for Restoration of Full Democracy; Students Continue to Demonstrate

Twenty-three supporters of Kim Yong Sam were reported May 26 to have begun a hunger strike to demonstrate backing for the former opposition political leader.

Sources said 15 people first started the fast, but the number later increased by four. Those taking part were said to have denounced the May 25 action by authorities that moved Kim forcibly from his home to a Seoul hospital.

And four other people joined the 19 who had begun the hunger strike, Reuter reported from Seoul on May 27.

The former head of the banned major opposition New Democratic Party started his hunger strike on May 18 to demand democratic reforms at his home. On May 25 more than a dozen plainclothes policemen broke into his home and took him to the Seoul National University Hospital in an apparent attempt to forcibly end his fast.

The sources said the 23 taking part in the sympathy fast included 11 former lawmakers, and were among 30 people still under house arrest restrictions.

Earlier it had been reported that 58 people were put under such restrictions in an apparent attempt to limit their support for Kim.

Police May 23 prevented a meeting by former opposition members to discuss a hunger strike by their leader, Kim Yong Sam.

Aides said scores of members of the NDP were prevented from leaving their homes for a scheduled meeting at a Seoul hotel to discuss Kim's action.

Saying his demands had been ignored by the "government", Kim's supporters said in a statement: "We declare that we launch a hunger strike in order to assume his (Kim's) hunger strike and to share his hardship as well as to win demands for democratization. Our hunger strike shares the ardent desire of the people for democratization."

The statement called for the "wholehearted sympathy and participation" of those who "share the resolute will of Kim Yong Sam," the sources said.

On May 28, Kim Yong Sam vowed to continue a hunger strike he began on May 18 to demand the restoration of full democracy in south Korea despite being moved to a hospital.

"As I started my fast, I believed life and death for me is up to God's discretion, and I make it clear that I will continue my fast as long as I remain conscious," Kim said in a statement released through an aide.

It is said that he is refusing food, medical treatment or diagnosis.

Kim was taken to the hospital's 12th-floor room, the same floor as that occupied by leading dissident Kim Dae Jung last December after he—was "released" from prison. Plainclothes police kept outsiders from approaching that area of the hospital.

The 23 Kim supporters who were reported fasting were said to be at their separate homes, most apparently under house arrest restrictions. Sources said they included Lee Min Woo, a former vice speaker in the old "national assembly" as an opposition party member, and former ranking opposition lawmakers Hwang Nak Joo and Park Yong Man. Seven former assembly members were said to be among the 15.

Kim Dae Jung Supports Kim Yong Sam's Call for Democratic Reforms

Meanwhile, Kim Dae Jung May 24 sent a telegram to Kim Yong Sam to encourage his valiant action and made public a statement in Washington.

In the statement, Kim Dae Jung called on the south Korean "government" to take appropriate democratization steps as his hunger strike represents nation's ardent desire for democracy.

Speaking at a rally held in Washington on May 22 to mark the third year since the Kwangju Massacre, Kim Dae Jung called for a drastic switchover in the U.S. policy towards south Korea.

"The Kwangju incident was a historic mass movement demanding democracy, and the resistance to the military dictatorship is still going on in south Korea," said Kim Dae Jung at the rally.

The rally was attended by some 3,000 people, including Koreans in the United States and American citizens.

He urged the Chon Du Hwan junta to apologize for the massacre and immediately release all the political prisoners and innocent workers.

In the rally, Kim repeatedly called on the United States to change its policy to support the military dictatorship led by Chon Du Hwan.

Student Actions

Over 1,000 students of Koryo University in Seoul staged a powerful demonstration on May 26, calling for the overthrow of the Chon Du Hwan junta.

Students of the prestigious private institution distributed printed tracts demanding an immediate release of their fellow students who had been arrested and the resignation of Chon Du Hwan.

At the end of their campus demonstration, students closed their ranks and tried to march into the streets. They persisted in their demonstration, repeatedly clashing with several hundreds riot police who blocked their way, firing tear gas.

Several students were arrested.

On May 25, students of Sung Kyun Kwan University clashed with some 400 riot police on their campus.

Around noon several students began to chant anti-"government" slogans, calling for a demonstration.

Soon, 300 students gathered on the campus and started a demonstration, calling for democratic reforms and for the end of campus surveillance by plainclothes policemen.

After the fierce clash, some injuries were reported. The demonstration lasted about two hours until around 10 students were taken away by police.

On May 18, an anti-Chon Du Hwan demonstration took place at a branch campus of the same university at Suwon. Several students were arrested and two professors were relieved of their faculty duties after the demonstration by school authorities.

On May 23, police arrested five boy and girl students at the Suwon Campus of the university. That day some 300 students of the Suwon Campus staged an anti-"government" demonstration.

Six senior girls at the same university were arrested on May 26 on charges of leading the May 23 on-campus demonstration at the Suwon Campus of the Sung Kyun Kwan University.

A foreign press report said that more than 70 students have been arrested since March this year.

Guyana National Seminar on Juche Idea Held in Georgetown

A Guyana national seminar on the Juche idea was recently held with a large attendance in Georgetown under the sponsorship of the Guyana National Committee for the Study of the Juche Idea of President Kim Il Sung on the occasion of his birthday.

The seminar was attended by S. Naraine, Vice-President of Guyana; Robert Corbin, First Vice-Chairman of the People's National Congress of Guyana and Minister of National Development; Agnes Bend, Member of the Parliament, Parliamentary Secretary for Public Services and Housing and Chairman of the Guyana National Committee for the Study of the Juche Idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung; Robert Williams, Member of the Central Executive Committee of the People's National Congress, Chairman of the Fisheries Company of Guyana and Honorary Chairman of the Guyana National Committee for the Study of the Juche Idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung; and other leading officials of the party and government, leading personages of public organizations, officials and members of Juche idea study organizations and friendship organizations and men of the press, several hundred in all.

Guyanese Vice-President S. Naraine made an opening address to be followed by congratulatory speeches of R. Gordon, General Secretary of the Fourth Province Committee of the People's National Congress, on behalf of the congress, and representatives of various strata and the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Korean Embassy in Georgetown.

Chairman Agnes Bend made a report on the subject "The Juche Idea Is the True Thought Which Defends *Chajusong* of the Popular Masses" to be followed by speeches of a number of personages.

A letter to President Kim Il Sung and a letter to Mr. Kim Jong Il were adopted amid stormy applause of the attendants.

Letter to Guyanese President Linden Forbes Sampson Burnham was also adopted.

Thomas Sandiford, Director of the Youth and Sports Department of the Ministry of National Development and First Vice-Chairman of the Guyana National Committee for the Study of the Juche Idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung, made a closing address.

The Guyana National Committee for the Study of the Juche Idea of Comrade Kim Il Sung arranged a party on the successful conclusion of the seminar.

Report (Excerpts)

Chairman Agnes Bend made a report on the subject "The Juche Idea Is the True Thought Which Defends *Chajusong* of the Popular Masses" at the seminar.

She said in her report:

The Juche idea is the great and unique thought which the respected leader of the Korean people President Kim Il Sung founded in the crucible of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and developed and enriched in the course of leading the arduous and complicated revolutionary struggle and construction work for half a century. Today the Juche idea is being further intensified and developed by the energetic ideological and theoretical activities of the sagacious leader of the Korean people Comrade Kim Jong Il who brilliantly carries forward the revolutionary cause of Juche pioneered by respected President Kim Il Sung.

The aim of this seminar is to contribute to our people's cause of *chajusong* intensifying the study of the Juche idea on the part of us all and exploring the correct way to defend and realize *chajusong* of the Guyanese people.

The Juche idea is the great thought which most thoroughly protects the *chajusong* of the popular masses.

The Juche idea defends *chajusong*, opposing aggression and subjugation, safeguards peace against war and demands friendship and cooperation, unity and cohesion, objecting division and confrontation.

The Juche idea based on the man-centred philosophical principle is the mighty ideological and theoretical weapon of the struggle to resolutely oppose all manner of social phenomena restricting the *chajusong* and creativeness of the people. And it is the great banner of human freedom to encourage the popular masses to the ideal society of mankind where free, happy and worthwhile lives of the people are blooming.

In the case of the new-emerging countries which have achieved national independence, too, if they do not resolutely defend *chajusong*, they cannot perform the progressive social and economic reformation for the building of a new society and may fall into the colonial slavery again, being deprived of even national independence achieved at the cost of blood.

In order to defend and realize the *chajusong* of the popular masses, it is imperative to provide living materials and conditions by transforming nature, reorganize the social relations with more rational ones and remould man himself as the powerful being. Such tasks are carried out by the transformation of society, nature and people.

The Juche idea elucidates in an all-round way the stand and method to be adhered to and relied upon by the popular masses in the struggle to defend and realize their *chajusong*.

The popular masses must maintain the independent and creative stands in the revolutionary struggle and construction work for *chajusong*.

The independent stand is the stand of the popular masses to firmly defend the position befitting the masters of the revolution and construction.

The Juche idea teaches that the people of each country should thoroughly embody the principles of independence in politics, self-sustenance in the economy and self-reliance in defence in order to maintain the independent stand.

The creative stand is the fundamental method to heighten to the

(Continued on page 3)

By Muhammad al Missuri

"Kimilsungist Cause Admirably Carried Forward" (12)

Loyal Contingents Grow All Over Country

(Continued from the No. 1,144 issue of The People's Korea)

When she was leaving the university, she had many dreams and entertained a high ambition. But she held, among other things, the strong belief in the depths of her heart that if she failed to do something worthwhile for the leader and the Party that had looked after and reared her, she would be a scientist indebted to the country and the people for the rest of her life.

This was why she chose as her subject of research the breeding of a crop seed which was so difficult that many scholars had already given up. The crop has great economic significance in improving the people's living standard, and the great leader President Kim Il Sung had long been cultivating it painstakingly in the garden of his residence.

The woman scientist knew this better than anyone else and thought that if she could not complete the research work and gladden the leader, she would not be able to be a soldier of the leader and a scientist of the Party and the people with a clear conscience for ever.

With determination she got ready for a journey and left for a cooperative farm. For 14 long years from that time she continued her researches in spite of repeated failures, and at last attained a brilliant success.

She was a human being and a woman, too. So is it not probable that in days of her blooming youth which comes only once in life she also longed for a sweet home and love? But because she had resolved to spend her life fruitfully for the sake of the Party and the leader, for the country and the people, she sacrificed all the personal happiness accessible to all in Korean society and devoted herself as a maiden lady to scientific researches. If she had been a scholar given to an easy life and fame, she would not have endured even for four years, let alone 14 years.

Today there are a hundred and scores of large and small countries on the earth and they are inhabited by far more than 4,000 million people. Language, colour of skin and nationality may differ from one another, but the spirit of independence and creative nature of human beings are common to any country and society.

Then how comes it that the true mentality of human beings and the beautiful relations between them are displayed in such a pure form only in Korea?

It is that the ideal society longed for so earnestly by people from time immemorial is being realized brilliantly in Korea.

The dear Comrade Kim Jong Il who has achieved such a lofty tremendous success in transforming man is truly a great philosopher, and a great engineer of human soul who has sublimated the thinking of a whole nation into the most beautiful and noble one in a short period of time.

This Is How A New Era Of Automation Has Come

What stood out conspicuously during my recent visit to Korea was that an amazing change was taking place in freeing the working people from arduous labour, as a result of the vigorous promotion of the technical revolution.

At the Hwanghae Iron Works, Unryul Mine, Taean General Heavy Machine Works and elsewhere, your gaze will be met by an admirable scene showing the mechanization and automation of production processes that are in progress, making the people's working life more joyous and worthwhile.

The whole country has entered a new era, an age of overall automation.

Certainly, Korea is not the only country where industrial automation is under way. Nor has she done more than others in this realm. But you will see all of her people are quite proud of their results in automation when you meet them. In the thick of overall automation now going on throughout the country, they feel their hearts swell with warmth, grateful for the profound loving care shown by the great leader President Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il who upholds and carries forward his cause.

The scientific conception of production automation is simple and plain. It means that production processes have to be operated by machines set under man's watch, without his or her physical strength being consumed.

Translation of this concept into practice, however, is not so easy as in case of expression. Moreover, to put forward automation as an important policy and effect it in industry as a whole, not within the confines of one or two individual production enterprises--this is a thing that cannot be done by every country as easily as wanted.

How, then, has a new epoch for all-round automation which brings the highest stage of the technical revolution started and developed in Korea?

At a time when in capitalist society where unemployment comes from the "benefit" of automation, the trade unions have been forced from the immediate task of objecting to automation, the working people of Korea are irrepressibly rejoiced over and proud of what has been done in automation. What is the reason?

The new history of automation in Korea, which aims at finally emancipating the people from the fetters of nature, has a very significant and moving story to tell.

In his report to the Fifth Congress of the Workers' Party of Korea held in November 1970, the great leader President Kim Il Sung put forward the three major tasks of the technical revolution, the main contents of which consist in reducing the differences between heavy and light labour and between agricultural and industrial labour and relieving women of the heavy burden of household chores.

These tasks reflect the basic demand of Chimilsungism that man should be placed in the centre of all thinking and everything be put in his service.

They also mirror the lofty wishes and great affection of the great leader to free the Korean people, who are rid of exploitation and oppression, even from toilsome work once and for all and enable them to enjoy an independent and creative life as masters of the state and society.

After waging a protracted bloody struggle against Japanese imperialism, the great leader President Kim Il Sung established a new society without exploitation and oppression in Korea through two stages of revolution accompanied by stern trials. Despite his immortal, epoch-making exploits performed for the country and the people, he set forth new tasks of the technical revolution, deeply mindful of the fact that the people have not yet been completely emancipated from difficult and arduous labour.

Moved to tears by his unfathomable love, the people accepted the tasks of the technical revolution of a new higher stage with great excitement.

However, it was rather hard for them to tackle these tasks.

After carrying out the historic task of industrialization in a matter of 14 years which took others a few centuries to accomplish, the Korean people had just climbed a high peak of industrialization. Yet, they had to make an uninterrupted advance to bring about a new, qualitative progress in the technical revolution.

Inspired by the new, grand blueprint for the technical revolution, people came out everywhere with a great ambition and firm determination. But they could not but waver before the tall hurdle of technology. As yet they were inexperienced and had a weak economic foundation; they were also wanting in technique.

Automation of production processes was a still harder problem.

In this situation, the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il made up his mind to resolve this problem without delay; this undertaking was a long-cherished desire of the people and also a task which the great leader wishes to see accomplished within his lifetime.

With a view to carrying out the great leader's far-reaching plan to free the Koreans from arduous labour as soon as possible, he first introduced overall automation at the Hwanghae Iron Works in 1972.

Thus, he indicated the way to the highest aim of freeing the people from the fetters of nature.

(To be continued)

Our People Value Korea-China Friendship More Than Anything Else

Speech of For. Minister Ho Dam

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Ho Dam spoke at a reception given by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on May 20 in honour of Comrade Wu Xueqian, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, on an official goodwill visit to the DPRK.

He warmly welcomed the visit to the DPRK by Foreign Minister Wu Xueqian and his party.

Referring to the friendly relations between the two countries, he said:

Today the Korea-China friendship is brilliantly efflorescing and developing on a lofty plane as never before in the annals of the friendly relations between the two countries.

Today the friendship between the Korean and Chinese peoples is in full bloom, recording a brilliant chapter in the history of the two countries. This is because the Party and Government leaders of the two countries have deepened their intimacy on the basis of the closest comradely friendship and sense of revolutionary obligation and personally provided and nursed its roots.

In particular, the visit to China by the respected leader Comrade Kim Il Sung and the visit to our country by respected Comrade General Secretary Hu Yaobang and Comrade Deng Xiaoping last year were great historical events which strengthened and developed onto a new height the friendship and unity between the Korean and Chinese peoples.

The Korea-China friendship which was sealed in blood between the Korean and Chinese peoples and which has withstood all trials is indestructible and will be everlasting.

Our people value the Korea-China friendship more than anything else and it is an unshakable faith and firm will of our people to make it shine forever generation after generation.

No matter what storm and trial may happen in the future, we will as ever cement the great Korea-China friendship which has linked the destinies of the two peoples into one and always share life and death with the fraternal Chinese people.

Pointing out that since the Third Plenary Meeting of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China tremendous changes have taken place in the vast land of China and her face is being changed, he went on:

Under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of China headed by respected Comrade General Secretary Hu Yaobang the fraternal Chinese people have made a big advance in the struggle for achieving the stability and unity of the whole country and realising the modernisation of industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology.

The epochal changes in China are a striking demonstration of the inexhaustible strength and united might of the Chinese people who are vigorously advancing in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle.

Today the People's Republic of China which has grown and strengthened into a powerful anti-imperialist revolutionary force of Asia is exerting a great influence upon the development of the world political situation and her international position is rising day by day.

Our people sincerely rejoice as over their own over the successes registered by the fraternal Chinese people in the revolution and construction and draw great encouragement from them.

We heartily wish your people greater success in the future in the struggle for creditably carrying out the task of socialist modernisation put forward at the 12th National Congress of the Party, and for having Taiwan returned to the motherland and achieving the reunification of the whole country.

Pointing to the international situation, he said:

Today the aggressive and interventionist moves of the imperialists have reached a reckless stage and world peace and security are seriously endangered.

In particular, the U.S. imperialists are bringing the situation of Korea to an extreme pitch of strain and increasing the danger of war in an attempt to realise their aggressive designs on Asia.

The present situation urgently demands all the anti-imperialist peace forces to pool strength and more vigorously wage a joint struggle against the imperialists' aggressive and belligerent manoeuvres and for defending world peace and security.

Under the prevailing situation it is of weighty importance in preserving and consolidating peace in Asia and the world to strengthen the friendship and unity between the parties, governments and peoples of Korea and China in every way.

The Korean people will actively struggle, joining hands with the fraternal Chinese people to check and frustrate the war moves of the U.S. imperialists and build a new Asia, peaceful, independent and prosperous.

In conclusion he proposed to drink a toast to the everlasting friendship and unity between the Korean and Chinese peoples,

To the good health and long life of respected Comrade General Secretary Hu Yaobang,

To the good health and long life of the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung, and to the good health and long life of respected Comrade Deng Xiaoping.

(Continued from page 2)

maximum the role of the masses, as the performers of the struggle to put *chajusong* into reality.

In order that the masses embody the creative stand in the struggle for the realization of *chajusong*, it is necessary to mobilize the inexhaustible strength to the maximum by increasing their creative zeal and solve all problems rationally in accordance with concrete realities.

The Juche idea is the great thought whose truth has been tested and whose vitality has been clearly displayed by the practice of the Korean people.

Under the wise leadership of the great leader President Kim Il Sung and the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il, outstanding successor to his cause, the Korean people are now vigorously struggling to build an ideal society where *chajusong* is fully realized and to bring about the country's independent reunification under the uplifted banner of the Juche idea.

The Korean experience explicitly shows that following the road indicated by the Juche idea will result in providing the people with a happy and new life by developing the country at a fast speed on reliance of one's own strength, even though a country is small and any difficult condition is confronted.

Speeches

Many personages made speeches at the seminar.

Robert Corbin, First Vice-Chairman of the People's National Congress of Guyana and Minister of National and Regional Development, said:

As taught by respected President Kim Il Sung, to establish Juche *means to approach revolution and construction in one's own country* with the attitude of a master which means adhering to the independent stand of rejecting dependence upon others and of using one's own brains, believing in one's own strength and displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance, thus solving all problems for one in one's own responsibility.

The Juche philosophy on self-reliance made the Korean people masters of their own destiny, and history has shown that that philosophy has today built a modern Korea.

The idea on economic self-reliance indicated by the Juche philosophy attracted special concern of our party and government from long ago.

We, in the course of building a cooperative socialist system with our own strength, have our consciousness to learn from the Juche philosophy.

S. Seecharan, lecturer of the Ministry of Higher Education of Guyana, noted:

Today, we call the present era an era of *chajuzong* (independence).

The present era is a new era of history illustrated by the Juche idea founded by respected President Kim Il Sung and ushered in by this idea.

The popular masses who had only suffered from exploitation, oppression, aggression and plunder and had been subjected to all sorts of misery, agony and misfortune for thousands of years are carving out their destinies independently and creatively, taking their destinies in their hands at last in our era.

We can confidently say with pride that such fundamental changes in human life today are results of the immortal Juche idea founded by President Kim Il Sung and his leadership in directing mankind to advance along the road of independence.

He is the great leader of the Korean people and the world people.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il as successor to the cause of Juche revolution is devoting his all to the final victory of the immortal Juche idea.

H. Rohman, instructor in charge of Eamon district of the People's National Congress of Guyana, said:

I would like to devote my speech today to the philosophical principle of the Juche idea.

The Juche philosophy founded by the great President Kim Il Sung is being developed and enriched by the outstanding leader Comrade Kim Jong Il.

The dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il clarified the essential qualities of *chajusong* (independence), creativity and consciousness and said that man is the only being possessed of these three attributes. For this, man is the only dominator and creator of the world.

That the world is changed and developed by the independent, creative and conscious activities of *man is the unique view of the world propounded by the Juche idea.*

Man transforms nature and society purposefully and consciously.

Through this transformation man creates what he needs and liquidates what is old. This means that everything is made to serve man.

For his *chajusong*, creativity and consciousness, man becomes the creator and dominator of the world. Let me recall to you that the philosophical principle of Juche that man is the master of everything and decides everything is the bedrock of the Juche idea and its validity and vitality is throwing rays all over the world.

This philosophy has enhanced the position of man and its basic principle clarified that man is the master of the world.

Long live the great leader Comrade Kim Il Sung!

Long live the dear leader Comrade Kim Jong Il!

(KCNA)

Everlasting Will Be Korea-China Close Friendship

Speech of For. Minister Wu Xueqian

Comrade Wu Xueqian, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, made a speech at a reception given by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in his honour.

I deem it a great honor to visit Korea, the country of heroic brothers, as my first foreign trip in the capacity of Foreign Minister, he said, and went on:

We are comrades-in-arms and comrades with a common ideal. Everlasting will be close friendship and militant unity between us.

We are well aware that the Korean people have glorious revolutionary traditions and have never yielded to any foreign forces' intervention and aggression.

Under the correct leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea and the great leader of the Korean people Comrade Kim Il Sung the Korean people have performed brilliant exploits in the struggle against imperialist aggression and for defending the independence and freedom of the country.

Upholding the revolutionary line of independence in politics, self-support in economy and self-reliance in national defense put forward by President Kim Il Sung, the Korean people have built their country into a socialist state, developing and prospering, in the spirit of *Chollima*. The gallant and heroic stamina of the Korean people and their dazzling successes in construction enjoy admiration from the peoples of many countries of the world.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the DPRK pursue the foreign policy of independence, friendship and peace, resolutely oppose imperialist aggression and intervention and strive to defend the unity of the Third World countries and the principle of the non-aligned movement.

The Chinese people are always directing deep attention to the Korean people's just cause of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

Developments on the Korean Peninsula also merit the attention of the peace-loving peoples of Asia and the world. The present division of Korea into the north and the south and the tense confrontation between them are entirely ascribable to the U.S. imperialists' aggression and interference, and this is contrary to the national desire of the Korean people. The unprecedented-in-scope joint military exercises of the United States and south Korea held some time ago heightened the tension on the Korean Peninsula and were vehemently denounced by the Korean people, the Chinese people and the peoples of many countries of the world.

The United States must withdraw its troops from south Korea and discontinue its interference in the internal affairs of Korea. This is the basic way of terminating the artificially created division and tension.

The Chinese Government and people will as ever resolutely support the reunification proposal for establishing the Democratic Confederal Republic of Koryo advanced by President Kim Il Sung and firmly support tireless efforts of the Korean people to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country against the "two Koreas" plot.

We are convinced that no matter how many twists and turns may lie on the road ahead, the Korean people will certainly realize the cause of national reunification.

The visit to Korea by Comrades Hu Yaobang and Deng Xiaoping and the visit to China by Comrade Kim Il Sung last year were significant and important events in the annals of the China-Korea friendship. The mutual visits between the supreme leaders of the two countries brought the friendly relations between the two parties and two countries of China and Korea to a new, higher plane and opened up a more beautiful and broad prospect.

The Chinese people who greatly value the traditional friendship with the Korean people are very grateful to them for their precious support to the cause of socialist construction and national reunification and are filled with the determination to continue to develop the friendly relations between our two countries generation after generation.

In conclusion he proposed to drink a toast to the great friendship and militant unity between Chinese and Korean peoples, to the good health and longevity of President Kim Il Sung, the great leader of the Korean people and a close friend of the Chinese people, and to the health of respected Comrade Secretary Kim Jong Il.

Three Years since "Bloodshed in Kwangju" (2)

What is worthy of note is the growing anti-American sentiments among south Korean Christians who have been said to be the most conservative and pro-American forces in south Korea.

Repulsion of Whole Churches

The "National Union for Democracy and National Reunification" (whose leaders were Bishop Ham Sok Hon, a south Korean Christian leader and Mrs. Li Gi Ho, the wife of Kim Dae Jung) was the first that came out to accuse the U.S. and the Chon Du Hwan junta, immediately after the Kwangju popular uprising. In the statement dated May 24, 1980, it denounced Gen. Chon's military coup and the Kwangju massacre, presenting a fivepoint demand including Gen. Chon's immediate resignation.

It also harshly condemned the Americans, saying "Our nation can not help feeling dissapointment with and indignation at the U.S. which have recently taken a series of measures against south Korea. Why did the Americans help Chon Du Hwan massacre the good citizens of Kwangju?"

Religionists realized already at the beginning of the massacre who was the criminal.

One of the causes of the growing anti-American sentiments is the ACC arson case in Pusan on Mar. 18, 1982.

In connection with the arson case, the Rev. Choi Ki Shik was arrested.

This antagonized the south Korean religionists.

The Standing Committee of the south Korean Catholic Priests Council (April 16, 1982) and the south Korean Christian Action Organization (April 17, 1982) successively made public statements accusing the Americans of their policy toward south Korea and the Chon jutna of its antipeople suppressive measures, defending the Rev. Choi and confronting the U.S. policy.

The "south Korean Catholic Priests' Council" is the highest decisionmaking body of south Korean Catholics numbering about 1,400,000.

The south Korean Christian Action Organization is a non-sectarian organization of old and new Christians in which they are represented by 42 priests and Reverends.

Therefore, this means that all the religionists of south Korea are criticizing the Americans. This is worthy of special attention.

Demand for Call of High Ranking American Officials to Home Country

The religionists not only criticised the Americans but also demanded more concretely that both the U.S. ambassador and the commander of the U.S. troops in south Korea be called back to their home country.

In an earlier statement entitled "Our view on the ACC arson case in Pusan' they said that "a decisive change has occurred in south Korean people's attitudes to the Americans, because the U.S. approved the Kwangju massacre."

It also pointed out that insulting remarks by high ranking U.S. officials against south Koreans had further aggravated their resentment.

The statement continued, "The commander of the U.S. troops in south Korea, Gen. Wickam, on August 8th, after the military coup and the Kwangju incident in May 1980, went so far as to say "The Koreans are like field mice; they just follow whoever became their leader. The Korean People are not ready for democracy."

Moreover, at a press conference in South Carolina on Feb. 16, 1982, the U.S. ambassador to south Korea accused demonstrating students of "spoiled brats." Condemning them for their insulting statements, the religious leaders demanded formal apologies of the two high ranking officials and their call to their home country.

The U.S. authorities flatly turned down their demand.

Even now the U.S. ambassador to south Korea stays in south Korea and Gen. Wickam later assumed the post of U.S. Army Vice-Chief of Staff and is seen certain to be promoted to the post of U.S. Army Chief of Staff.

South Korean religionists demanding even withdrawal of the U.S. troops from their country. On April 20 last the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, a prominent democratic figure, was arrested for making a speech in which he demanded withdrawal of the U.S. troops from south Korea.

These changes in the religionists' attitudes to the U.S. and their anti-American sentiments reflect the recent anti-American and anti-fascist struggle of the south Korean people.

An underground report from south Korea ("Sekai" May issue) says "These changes in the thinking of chruchmen are the most important developments that have occurred in south Korea since the May 17 military coup by Gen. Chon Du Hwan.

Church Services Utilized

One of the characteristics of the religionists' struggle after the Kwangju popular uprising is that they make use the cemetery of victims of the Kwangju massacre as a meeting place.

Referring to this, "Letters from South Korea", (underground reports from south Korea contributed to "Sekai") in its June issue, says, "In order to juggle the figure of people actually killed in the Kwangju massacre which is said to number 2,000, the Chon junta built graves for 180 persons.

However, they turned the cemetery into a place of their pilgrimage and the symbol of resistance.

People visits there as the Mecca of resistance and hold political meeting there.

Students visit there even at night. Therefore the Chon Du Hwan junta is now moving the cemetery somewhere else to prevent them from visiting the place.

Religionists hold mourning services there for the victims of the Kwangju massacre and denounced the Americans and the Chon junta at their gatherings.

Last year's church service was held at the YMCA hall in Kwangju sponsored by the Kwangju Christian Youth Council, the Kwangju Christian Association, and the Presbyterian Church of South Cholla prov. but the students who attended to the chruch service were arrested by the authorities.

Then, the religionists demanded release of those arrested by staging a sit-in (a report of the Human Rights Committee, the National Council of Churches of south Korea).

The Kwangju massacre cannot be easily forgotten by the victims' families.

Their demand is clear. The "Korea Communique" dated May 18, 1981, in a report on a mourning ceremony held at the Kwangju City cemetary, vividly described it, "After speeches were made in memory of the victim, incense was burnt, and silence was continued for a while. Afterwards, while the mothers and grandmothers of the victims wailed over their graves, students placed carnations on each grave and then began to sing songs. "Let Chon Du Hwan resign! Oh, yes, Oh, yes! Yankees, go home! Oh, yes, Oh, yes! Remember May 18th! Oh, yes, Oh, yes!"

(Concluded)

Rodong Sinmun on U.S.-Japan Joint Air Mobile Exercise

Rodong Sinmun on May 21, commenting on the joint air mobile exercise of the air in Japan scheduled for five days from May 23 above the sea north of Kyushu, says that this is an indicator of the stepped-up military collusion between the United States and Japan for Asian aggression.

The author of the commentary notes that the joint exercise of U.S. and Japanese Air Forces shows that Japan is emerging as a dangerous force of aggression and a hotbed of war in Asia.

The commentary goes on:

U.S. imperialism is cultivating the war capacity of the Japanese reactionaries, their attack capacity in particular, to effectively use them in executing its Korean and Asian strategy.

The Japanese reactionaries take Korea as the first target of their overseas aggression. They massed armed forces in the Western part of Japan and are actively holding military exercises for familiarization with the lay and climate of the Korean Peninsula. Along with this, they directly linked the command communications of the operation command post of the Japanese "Self-Defence Forces" with the "Combined Forces Command" in south Korea and set up the "Early Aerial Warning System," "Military Information Exchange System," "Emergency Mobilisation System" and so forth between the United States, Japan and south Korea and have made preparations to instantly launch into military action in case the U.S. imperialists unleash a new war of aggression on the Korean Peninsula.

It is not without reason that the sky above the sea north of Kyushu, that is, the sky above the East Sea of Korea, is set as the theatre of the scheduled U.S.-Japan joint air mobile exercise.

This bespeaks that the aggressive U.S.-Japan-south Korea tripartite military alliance is actually operating.

The Japanese reactionaries have gone to extremes in their ambition for overseas aggression. With the backing of the U.S. imperialists they try to start military aggression for the realisation of the old dream of the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" in Korea.

But, if the U.S. and Japanese aggressors persistently follow the road of war, it will result in precipitating their own destruction.

Real Conditions of South Korean Workers: Christians Release Report (2)

2. Workers' Hardships in Darkness

Articles 9 and 32 of the south Korean constitution guarantee all people the right to lead a decent life to live in dignity and pursue happiness as human beings.

Article 32 guarantees the three principal rights of labor for workers who are the masters and form the majority of south Korean society, and the National Labor Relations Act is also in force.

However, what is their real condition in south Korea.

It seems that since May 16, 1961, when the late south Korean ruler Pak Jung Hi seized power by a coup d'etat, in particular, since the wholesale arrest of labor union leaders, the revision of the National Labor Relations Act at the end of 1980, all articles of law for labor have been reduced to mere appendages, far from safeguarding the rights of workers.

Authorities ignore the just endeavors and struggles of workers, by inventing various institutional devices.

We are surprised at the report (Chungang-Ilbo Feb. 28, 1983) on that, not satisfied with this, the Ministry of Labor plans to place "intelligence agents" in each work place in the name of "information cooperators".

Although they say they are intended to prevent delays in the payment of wages and labor-management disputes, we know well that the move is intended to spy on the workers striving to improve working conditions in enterprise.

If this system is instituted, the number of workers on the "black list" will rapidly increase, antagonisms and conflicts inevitably be intensified.

We cannot help being deeply concerned over this.

Under constant assaults by the powers that be and employers, the General Trade Union and trade unions in south Korea have been forced to restrict their activities so that hatred and indignation are being pent up among the workers who are trying to overcome darkness and miseries.

Even the minimum living cost figures, which the General Trade Union annually reported, was not made public this year, there are lots of misgivings about this.

Industrial Trade Unions are making efforts to help workers organize themselves. However, the reality is that they are unable to play an active role as their activities are branded as "interference by third parties."

All trade unions of south Korea are forced to obey the instructions of authorities and employers.

The leaders of trade unions temporarily obey their employers, but they have deep-seated ill-feelings and resentment.

To organize a new trade union is extremely difficult. The efforts to democratize government-controlled unions often lead to mass dismissals of workers.

Even if they are successful in organizing a trade union by taking legal measure, it is difficult to be recognized as a legal trade union by a screening committee and documents are turned down by Municipal officials.

After that, detectives visit the workers' homes and threaten them without fail.

It is totally impossible to organize trade unions in enterprises belonging the business and financial groups with even casual connections with influential community leaders, or authorities.

When papers for recognition as a trade union are submitted, the representative's home is attacked and threatened, by detectives who say "I will arrest you for commiting a theft because this belongs to company", pointing to anything they happen to find in his room.

If things come to this pass, all efforts so far made would be in vain.

Moreover, even in case mass resignations or mass lay-offs are forced by employers, it is no use appealing against such illegal labor acts to the Labor Commission.

Any systematic efforts to democratize government-controlled trade union, are alleged to be wire-pulled by the Young Workers Christian Council and the Urban Industrial Mission almost without exception, and the organizers are trapped and lose their jobs.

That is the same with such systematic efforts even if they have no connection with such organizations.

We know many workers who lost their jobs alleged to have been manipulated by the UIM.

We are well aware that many workers are dissapointed and angry with us, owing to suppressive measures and false propaganda against us by the authorities.

We can not but admit our powerlessness, cowardice and inexperienced approaches.

We, however, declare that, even though our efforts may not be sufficient we try to be true to ourselves, we call sincerely to God and stand on the side of workers.

We are confidant that the day will not be so far when workers will realize the real cause of their poverty and estrangement, and who their friends are when they have overcome these difficulties, and who are striving together with them to help them overcome their hardships.

When workers arise, overcome despair and a sense of defeat from which they suffer today, we pray to God and endeavor so that they may choose us and the Church as their friends.

(To be continued)

Nakasone's ASEAN Tour

by Karrim Essack

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is a paper recently contributed to The People's Korea by Mr. Karrim Essack of Radio Tanzania. This was also broadcasted in a programme of Radio Tanzania on May 20.

ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations, consisting of Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore and Malaysia is to Japan, what Latin America is to the United States, namely the supplier of cheap raw materials and the importer of its relatively expensive manufactured goods.

It was to this backyard that the Japanese prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone paid a visit to from 30th April to the 10th May. At the first stop in Manila, the Philippines he was met with a hostile demonstration, for the message was not peace, but of war. Just the projects public exercise that Nakasone as Santa Claus had stuffed in his stocking 10 billion shillings to be freely dispensed as aid, it became clear that talk was other than gifts and economic aid. It was about security, self-defence, patrolling, policing, detecting and tracking down. This was a new language not heard since the second imperialist war. It was the language of Tojo, the warmonger and militarist who brought Japan its first defeat in modern history. In Nakasone, they saw Tojo's reincarnation. Japan is fully integrated in the world's capitalist system, its giant monopolies operating freely in the U.S., Europe and Canada either as joint companies or individually. However unlike America and Europe, it lacks a military arms like NATO to protect its investment.

It is the task of the Nakasone government to end this anomaly. The first step was the formation of a tripartite military alliance with the U.S. and puppet Chon Du Hwan. However this is totally inadequate, for two reasons. The political life of the traitor of south Korea is a very short one, for any day he would join his predecessors, Syngman Rhee and Pak Jung Hee. More serious is that America is not able to police the entire sea routes of Southeast Asia and the Pacific and has told Japan of that. Their reasons are clearly economic. Firstly the U.S. has a national debt of 1,000,000 million U.S. dollars. Secondly its growth rate will average 2.5%. Thirdly the GNP in relation to world GNP has been steadily dropping: In 1970 it was 26.7% of the total world GNP. In 1980 it was 24.4. By 1990 it will slip to 22%. Finally the communications are over extended, for fires have broken out in Central America, the backyard of the United states. As far as Reagan the future arena of contention would be space, and therefore it would consume a large slice of the military budget. It was the global plan of imperialism after the second imperialist war to ring the entire world with a network of military bases which would be integrated in a global alliance. The first grouping was NATO grouping the European and north American states. Then came CENTO, SEATO and ANZUS. But these were dissolved or died a natural death through inactivity. The U.S. then took on the job of policing the entire region of Central and Southeast and East Asia.

The long term aim of Nakasone's visit is just to revive these military organisations under new leadership and new direction. Japan sent its foreign minister Shintaro Abe to some European countries to sound out the question of closer informal cooperation with NATO.

At present Japan is the only non-NATO member of COCOM, which control the supply of strategic materials and information to the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. It is also a non-European member of Energy Authority and the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development. While outwardly some NATO members showed coolness like France which said that NATO was a security grouping for Atlantic and Mediterranean countries it did not prevent top British, U.S. and French ministers and under secretaries to Japan to pursue this idea. Although NATO agreed that Japan should be involved in NATO's East-West trade arrangements, and even be supplied with all the information emanating from the Geneva arms reduction talks, the aim is much wider. NATO would want a regional military organization with whom it would have a military alliance. What they would want is a South East and East Treaty Organisation (SEEATO) with Japan as the kingpin. Nakasone's visit then was to sound the ASEAN states of this as long term and military collaboration on specific things as a short term.

Specifically Japan wants to safeguard the two important sea routes a thousand miles from her border. These are from Tokyo to Iwojima Island which runs south-east and the other from Osaka to Taiwan which runs Southwest to the strategic and highly prized Malacca Straits. For instance Japan imports 98.8% of its tin, 97.5% of rubber, 94% of its lumber, 65.5 of edible oil, 29% of sugar, 24% copper and 16.9% of oil. These would use the Osaka – Taiwan route.

Although the Strait of Malacca does not fall within the 1000 mile sea route lane, for Japan this is its jugular vein. Over 80% of its pass through this as well as 40% of its imports. On the other hand 35% of its exports goes through these sea lanes. Nakasone's purpose then was to impress on the five countries that not only Japan's but also ASEANS' fate is tied with the security in this region. Nakasone in effect said that Japan cannot patrol the sea lanes alone. Just as the Unites States has involved Japan, so too now Japan wants to involve ASEAN states. In terms of man power it will mean 350 million people if a military alliance is forged.

However amongst the people there is alarm and resistance to the revival of Japanese militarism. So no ASEAN leader could come out openly about a military association with Japanese militarism. In this century Japan colonised Korea and Taiwan, invaded China as an imperialist power. Then it joined the Fascist of Germany and Italy as an Axis power during the second imperialist war. It was then that Japan invaded all the ASEAN states and left a trail of death, devastation and plunder. The generation that witnessed these barbarous and horrible acts of Japanese savagery is alive and the memories are still fresh. That is why there is alarm at the rise of Tojoism in Japan. It means war again and this time a nuclear war with Southeast Asia again becoming a theatre of operations once again.

Three ASEAN countries, namely Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore and members of the non-aligned which at its 7th conference stressed independence of member states. One of the cardinal points of the non-aligned is that it is against any military blocs. Therefore, any moves by Japan for further militarisation would be given short shrift, since Nakasone boasted that Japan was an unsinkable aircraft carrier. Further some observers believe that Japan and its surrounding area is stuffed with nuclear weapons. Since Japan is not a nuclear power, it is clear that these weapons belonging to the United States which it is obliged to keep in terms of the Co-operation Treaty with the United States with its secret clauses. That there has been secret military collaboration between Japan and the United States was revealed by none other than a U.S. official that an American underwater surveillance system consisting of hydrophones laid on the ocean bottom had been based in Japan for many years.

However, there has been little objection from ASEAN governments because the relationship between Japan and ASEAN is neo-colonialist in character. The ASEAN have to supply to Japan its raw materials at a very cheap price. ASEAN manufacturers account for 18% of total exports but they account for only 7% to Japan. There are stiff tariff walls erected for ASEAN manufacturers. The conservative British weekly was able to report:

"Despite their proximity, ASEAN manufacturers have a tougher time penetrating the Japanese market than the Americans and Europeans. ASEAN wants easier access to its farm products but is running into problems in this. A tax on banana imports from the Philippines has forced Philippines farmers to cut down millions of banana trees in recent years."

But there is little that ASEAN states have done about this unequal relationship because three states have an unfavourable balance of trade. Thus in the fiscal year ending March 1982, Thailand's deficit stood at 1.03 billion dollars, while Singapore was a staggering 3.06 billion. The Philippines too had a deficit of 386 million. With the drop in the price of oil, there is every possibility that even Indonesia too will have a deficit.

Further strangle hold can be seen that Japanese investment in ASEAN countries by 1981 stood at 9.4 billion dollars which is almost one quarter of Japan's total overseas investment.

This indebtedness does not give the ASEAN states much room to manoeuvre. ASEAN being part of the world capitalist system like some African countries have had to bear its impact of severe recession. None of these states can pay their debts if called upon by Japan. None of them can survive should Japan cancel its contract of the supply of raw materilas or pull out its investments. Therefore, Nakasone is in a position to call the tune.

The Japanese prime minister is also aware that four out of the five states face guerilla movements aiming at completing the historic task of the national democratic revolution. These movements are anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and democratic, aiming at giving Land to the Tiller. The strongest of these is in Philippines headed by the New Peoples Army and it is inching its way to Manilla. These are without any support from any socialist or progressive states and have built up their following on the basis of self-reliance. Should socialist countries give support as part of their proletarian international duty, then the balance of forces could be changed against these ASEAN states. In such as case they will have to lean even more heavily on the side of militarised Japan.

During Nakasone's tour a hard bargain was driven. A lot of promises were given by the Japanese prime minister to lift custom barriers, allow greater access to Japan's science and technology and change loans into equity shares in certain projects. This is the not the first time that ASEAN had such promises and it will not be the last. Such promises were even made to the U.S. and the EEC members particulary about reducing the trade deficit. But then capitalism will not be capitalism if it voluntarily turned its trade surpluses into deficits.

In return for these promise ASEAN states agreed to allow Japan to proceed with its militarisation. Malaysian prime minister said: "If defence of the straits of Malacca is regarded as Japan's responsibility, then we will certainly be worrying about it". ASEAN then has given a green light for Japan to police the two seas. Likewise it will raise no objection for Japan to hold joint military exercises with the U.S. around the Korean peninsula.

The militarisation of Japan, the tripartite military alliance with the U.S. and south Korea must be seen as the first steps in the formation of a wider military alliance which would net in some or all the ASEAN states. These are not for defence but for war.

May 15, 1983

SOUTH KOREAN CARTOONS

Torture and violence is daily occurence in south Korea.

Violence of south korean police, widely known for its fascist torture and illegality, caused death incident of an official of the Hanil Complex.

In connection with the case, director of the Security Police, who has been visiting to Chile at the invitation of the Chile police army commander, was fired.

It is quite illustrative that a boss of torture police of south Korea who has had good contact with a counterpart of Chile, was fired immediately after his visit to Chile where is also well known region for its fascist repression.

Burglary of policemen is increasing in south Korea. Another cartoon bespeaks robberty of policemen and illegal brabery is common case.

社會漫評

全北漫評

The Resurgence of Militarism in Modern Japan

—By Kirk C. Bascom—

Follows the last of a two-part article on militarism in modern Japan.

The paper was contributed to The People's Korea by Mr. Kirk C. Bascom who is an American free-lance journalist and a specialist in Northeast Asian affairs.

(Continued from the previous issue)

Japan's Re-Militarization: Right-Wing Pressure and a Changing Mood

At the same time that Japanese society receives pressure from abroad to rearm, rising forces of militarism are gaining strength within the country. Though ultra right-wing groups have existed for many years in Japan with little influence on the public will, it is true that recently such organizations have grown rapidly. There are an estimated one thousand ultranationalist organizations in Japan today. Most of these organizations "have considerable success recruiting disenchanted youths into their ranks."[14] It seems that many youth in Japan today are more nationalistic than their parents. This may be due to a growing national pride fostered by both awareness of international pressures as well as recent campaigns in the press and other media praising Japan as an international powerhouse.

This feeling seems to be an extension of the recent change of attitude among Japanese from a perception of themselves as being subservient dependents to one of an independent economic powerhouse. Japan now prefers to go it alone. This was shown quite clearly when Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki, while visiting Washington last year, attempted to use the word "alliance" in reference to U.S.-Japanese security matters. The uproar back in Japan was severe enough to cause Suzuki, on his return home, to make a public correction of his mistake.[15] Japan seems to have taken Ezra Vogel's book, *Japan as Number 1*,[11] to heart. (This book has been a best-seller in Japan every year since it was translated into Japanese.) The Japanese are actually beginning to believe that they are number one, and that they no longer need help from big brother.[12] Again, this attitude harks back to pre-war ideas of Japan being the savior of all Asia.

The nature and scope of these changing attitudes of the Japanese toward militarism are exemplified by the issues at home that surround the whole controversy of Japan's resurgence of militarism. Paramount among these issues is the controversy over Japan's constitution. Because the constitution in general, and Article 9 in particular, embraces peace and denounces war, many right-wing factions see the constitution as a serious hindrance to future militarization.[13]

Indeed, the entire American-drafted constitution represents to many Japanese a challenge to their country's sovereignty and a blow to national pride. Because the constitution was drafted by Americans, many Japanese feel it doesn't represent the true thinking of the Japanese people. Thus, many nationalistic factions within Japan are advocating reforming the present constitution so as to make it more representative of the true situation in Japan.[24] This attitude seems very reminiscent of the type of nationalism that existed before the war.

Closely tied to this constitutional controversy is the existence of the Self Defense Forces, seemingly without regard for the provisions set forth in Article 9. During the Korean War, MacArthur made an effort to make up for the large decreases in U.S. troop strength in Japan by creating a National Security Police Force which later became known as the Self-Defense Forces.[24] These Self-Defense Forces (SDF) has grown in size considerably since the Korean War. The purpose of the SDF is to defend Japan in case of an attack from outside the country. Even though it is a military organization in every sense of the word, possessing tanks, war ships, attack aircraft, etc., many conservatives justify its existence in light of Article 9 "on an interpretation that sees Article 9 as prohibiting armed forces but not armament for self-defense."[25] Such interpretations seem to reflect a sense of confused apprehension in Japan, where on the one hand a populace that generally denounces all military capability will justify the existence of a military force through a perceived threat to their country and their livelihood.

Such threats are considered not only by the Japanese, but also by the U.S., in pressuring Japan to help in maintaining the security of the Far East. As stated earlier, ever since the Korean War, the U.S. has been pressuring Japan to upgrade its military. Lately, the reasoning behind this centers around the United States' decreasing ability to defend Japan and the Far East as it deals with economic problems at home and greater military responsibilities in other areas of the world such as the Middle East.

To make up for this dwindling military presence, the U.S. wants Japan to strengthen its current military establishment.

Adding credence to the U.S. argument has been Japan's recent rise to world prominence as a major economic and industrial power. For this reason, many factions in the U.S. and among other allies of Japan feel that she should start carrying her own weight in the defense arena of the Far East. Japan's "own weight" would be something more commensurate with her status as an economic power. In the past decade, Japan's defense budget has increased almost 7% annually in real terms and today that budget exceeds $10 billion, which includes about $1 billion for support of U.S. forces in Japan. Even though Japan's defence budget is the eighth largest in the world, as a percentage of total GNP it falls far short of America's defense budget. Thus we see the attitude among Americans that Japan is getting a "free ride" in defense matters, primarily at American expense.[17] The U.S., primarily Pentagon officials, wants Japan to double its military spending in the next ten years. The popular argument is that Japan's constitutional limitation of defense spending of only 1% of GNP is far too small. Considering Japan's phenomenal GNP growth in the last two decades, such a percentage figure can be misleading. Since 1962, Japan's defense spending has jumped from $600 million to $11.5 billion in 1982, a twenty-fold jump.[18] *New York Times* reporter Henry Scott-Stokes reports:

> *Japan's defense budget is larger than the entire national budgets of most countries in Southeast Asia.... In recent years, Japan has placed the largest defense orders in its history. The orders—for military aircraft are almost entirely in the United States. Japan is buying 100 F-15 fighters and 45 P-3C antisubmarine aircraft at a cost, over the next 10 years, of about $4.6 billion.*

Whatever interpretation one wishes to put on the issue of Japan's defense budget, it seems very clear that the trend is for increased spending. In a nation that prides itself on being anti-military, there seems to be a good deal of evidence to show that determination is either weakening or is conditional upon pressure from the outside, or both.

Another recent issue that has created much concern over Japan's recent trend toward militarism is the textbook issue last year the state-regulated textbook publishers in accordance with demands from the Ministry of Education, have recently changed around some words and phrases in high school and junior high school history texts, apparently to make Japan's actions against its neighbors in World War II and before seem not quite as bad as once thought true. This issue caused a large outcry from the Chinese and Koreans, who suffered greatly at the hands of the Japanese. They felt that changing the words or phrases around in the textbooks to softer or euphemistic phrases made the actions of the Japanese military appear more acceptable, thus regaining some of the military's lost prestige among the Japanese.[26] The issue was eventually settled by Prime Minister Suzuki bending to international pressure and promising to have the old phrases returned to future textbook passages. Right wing elements within the government were largely responsible for the textbook revisions. Many believe this may have been a way to counter the peace education program run in the schools by the 660,000-member Teacher's Union.[21]

In light of how totally Japan was supposed to have renounced war and militarism, it's surprising that such incidents could happen at all. This may point to the influence the right wing has gained in recent years. Probably the most visible area of renewed militarist influence is in the media. Recently there have been numerous articles in both the mainstream Japanese newspapers as well as in the many soft-porn news tabloids, so popular among commuting Japanese businessmen, dealing with subjects in a way that is sympathetic to the cause of a strong military and a renewal of nationalistic fervor among the Japanese people.[22] Probably the most significant of all the recent trends toward militarism in the media has been the release in 1982 of the war film *Dai Nippon Teikoku* (The Empire of Greater Japan). The significant thing about the film is that it tends to justify war and especially Japan's role in World War II. The movie praises the courage and valor of World War II soldiers, once looked down upon for their alleged atrocities committed during the war. Also very surprising, and possibly revealing, is the movie's portrayal of General Tojo in a very favorable light.[23] In post-war Japan, such a movie is rather unusual, especially since it seems to have been a success at the box office. People actually want to watch it and feel that it's worthwhile viewing. Though the film does not glorify war, it does view it with a sympathetic eye,[24] something that hasn't been done in Japan since the end of the war.

The media in Japan seems to be highly involved in propagating a more lenient and sympathetic outlook on the military. Bookstores in Japan are full of comic books that have soldiers as their heroes and war as the setting for their plots.[25] If the media is a reflection of the public's mind, then maybe the minds of the Japanese people are slowly changing, reverting back to a time when war and the military were glorified,[26] a time, many feel, that reflects the true, traditional spirit of the Japanese nation.

Two recent incidents seem to further strengthen the argument that the minds of the Japanese are changing in relation to militarism. An article in the December 6, 1982 *Newsweek* magazine spoke of a recent decision by the U.S. to base "a wing of 40 F-16 fighter-bombers at Misawa in northern Japan starting in 1985."[27] In the past, similar actions involving an upgraded military presence in Japan have been met with much controversy and heated debate. This time, however, "Japan's rapid, quiet approval of the F-16 deployment was one sign of a shifting consensus in Japan on defense."[28] The article went on further to explain that the lack of public outcry over the F-16 issue is "surprising" and that such passivity over defense matters is a very recent phenomenon in Japan.[29]

This incident comes at a time when this "new mood"[30] in Japan seems to have expressed itself through the recent election of Yasuhiro Nakasone to the office of prime minister. Nakasone "has a reputation as a strong nationalist and a hawk on defense."[31] As previous head of the Defense Agency and an aggressive, outspoken politician, Nakasone, unlike his predecessor Zenko Suzuki, has made very clear his views to revise the constitution and allow for more defense spending. He's even "hinted that he might raise the defense budget over the sacred 1 percent of GNP adhered to by past governments."[32]

Such occurrences receiving tacit, if not explicit, approval by the Japanese public certainly seems to hint of an important change of attitude among the people. With such a shift in mood, we can expect more occurrences of this nature in the future.

A Final Note

It has been argued that such occurrences are merely aberrations, and that the prevailing, peace-loving mood among Japanese, combined with the limitations of Article 9, are too great of hindrances for the serious growth of militarism in Japan. This writer would counter such arguments with the evidence presented in this paper along with the admonition to the reader to try to look deeper into the forces behind such occurrences as the recent textbook issue and the ongoing debate over defense spending. There is a growing attitude among Japanese that there is a need for a stronger military. Constitutional revision has become a growing concern among right-wing elements, and this attitude is spreading to all parts of Japanese society.[33] The election of Yasuhiro Nakasone, at a time when Japan is feeling great pressure to update its Self Defense Forces, may be the crowning action that commits Japan to a course of rearmament and re-militarization. The implications for Asia and the West, though remaining to be seen, will be vitally important.

It will be up to the reader to decide how serious all these occurrences are in relation to Japan's rising forces of militarism. One thing is for sure, though, Japan's attitude toward militarism today is very different from what it once espoused and practiced in the years shortly after World War II.

* * *

NOTE

[18] Imazu, "Rising Hawk", p. 180.
[19] Junkerman, "Reluctant Warriors," p. 25.
[20] Junkerman, "Reluctant Warriors," p. 25. See also Geoggrey Murray, "Japan Wary of 'Alliance' with U.S.," Christian Science Monitor, May 14, 1981, p. 3.
[21] Ezra F. Vogel, Japan as Number One, Lessons for America (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1979).
[22] Big brother in this case is the United States.
[23] See "A Constitutional Amendment for Article 97," Japan Echo 8, no. 2 (1981): 91–103, and "Constitutional Controversy," Japan Echo 8, no. 1 (1981): 39-50.
[24] "Constitutional Controversy," pp. 42-43.
[25] Murray Sayle, "The Yellow Peril and the Red Haired Devils," Harper's, November 1982, p. 33.
[26] "Constitutional Controversy," p. 41.
[27] Jon Halliday, "The Road to Rearmament," The Nation, February 13, 1982, p. 186.
[28] Junkerman, "Reluctant Warriors," p. 23.
[29] Henry Scott-Stokes, "It's All Right to Talk Defense Again in Japan," New York Times Magazine, February 11, 1979, p. 22.
[30] See "Battle of the War Books," Asiaweek, August 20, 1982, pp. 27-43.
[31] Junkerman, "Reluctant Warriors," p. 23.
[32] Ibid., p. 24.
[33] "War Books," p. 37.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Junkerman, "Reluctant Warriors," p. 24.
[36] John Junkerman, a Boston-based free-lance writer and specialist on Asian affairs, recently described in his article "Pacifism: Womanish and Weak" (see Progressive, November 1982, p. 24) many new sings of Japanese acceptance of things that have been "taboo" since 1945: "Soldiers of the Self Defense Force (SDF) venture into public in uniform. Ceremonies are held for the war dead. A professor speaks in favor of arms exports in Nagasaki – a symbolic citadel of pacifism."
[37] Kim Rogal and Kim Willenson,

(Continued on page 7)

Compositions by Korean Students in Japan

My Butterflies

One day my friend's mother brought a flowerpot to us. A flower plant didn't put forth buds at the time. A flower plant had only leaves.

Our teacher showed us the flowerpot and said, "Let's grow the flower plant so that it may come into full bloom."

From the next day, our classmates came to school early and watered the flower everyday in turns.

Three or four days later, the flower plant had small buds. Day by day, the buds grew into pretty flowers and smelled sweet. White flowers were in full bloom.

Our teacher told us, "Flowers are beautiful and smell sweet, so let's put the pot somewhere in the class room." She put the pot on a locker in our class room.

One day, when I saw the pot, I found black grains fallen around the flower pot.

I wondered what they were. I didn't know what they were. Our teacher also didn't know. Then, I stopped thinking of them and wiped away those black grains.

The next day, more black grains fell around the flower pot.

I was surprised and said to the teacher, "Teacher, there are many black grains." My classmates gathered around me and said to each other, "What are they!" At that moment, one of my classmates standing behind shouted, "Teacher, there are insects on a branch." Teacher and we saw the branch carefully. We found three green-colored insects 5–6cm long on the branch.

Those black grains I found around the flowerpot were their droppings.

On that day we didn't know what those green insects were. We watched these insects for a while so intently that we felt sick.

The next morning, Hyon Son Gwan, one of my classmates, brought a book on insects and said, "Teacher, these insects were larvae of butterflies." He showed the book to the teacher.

The teacher praised him, saying, "You did well." On that day the teacher said, "Let's breed these larvae carefully." I was charge of these larvae and we decided to breed them together. I came to school early in the morning and observed these larvae every day.

The larvae crawled up a branch of the flower plant and nibbled at the leaves. Those three larvae ate leaves every day so that there were a few leaves left. The larvae grew and were some 7–8cm long.

On the morning of the 12th day the greenish larvae became blackish.

The larvae, which had so far clung to the branch fell on the soil of the flowerpot and began to move to some other place.

I picked up the blackish larvae and put them on the branch. The next morning, I went to school earlier to study these three larvae. But I found only two larvae. I carefully looked around the pot. I was unable to find out any other.

Other classmates made a fuss and said, "Oh, the larvae have run away." I felt sad because I thought that the larvae had died somewhere.

On the day, after lunch, I saw the pot again, where I found only one larvae. My friends and I searched every nook and corner. Then, someone shouted, "There was a larvae in my shoe."

She picked the larvae and put it on a branch of the flower plant.

We put the larvae into an insect cage so that the larvae didn't flee.

On the 30th day, the black larvae gathered leaves in a corner of the insect cage and crouched on the leaves. The larvae didn't move.

A few days passed. The larvae became pupae. When my friends saw the pupae, they said, "The larvae are dead!" I felt uneasy, thinking what I should do if the larvae were dead.

On the 41st day, when I came to school, I found the pupae to have changed into pretty butterflies.

I should, "Butterflies were born!" and told this to my classmates.

My friends gathered around me, saying, "Really?" They were smiling. The two wings of each butterfly were white and had black spots.

The two antennae of each butterfly were not long enough. But they were moving from right to left and left to right repeatedly.

We silently and carefully observed the butterflies. They were surely butterflies. The butterflies flew in the insect cage, which was so narrow and their wings hit against the cage and fell on the bottom of the cage. I felt pity for the butterflies.

On that day I was happy all day. We studied, looking at them.

When I thought that these butterflies were waiting for us in our class room, I felt happy when I went to school.

My classmates came to school earlier than usual and changed leaves and branches in the insect cage.

As days went by, the butterflies became my pretty friends.

For several days we studied these butterflies together. My classmates loved them very much.

However, on the morning of the fifth day, we were very sad. One of our pretty butterflies died and another butterfly sat on a branch quietly. When I saw the dead butterfly, I thought that my strength had gone.

I thought why our pretty butterfly died. I thought of many things. Was the insect cage so narrow that the butterfly was not able to fly freely? Or were there not enough to eat?

Someone said, "The butterfly died because there had not enough to eat. Then, other friends said, "That's right," and "What a pity!"

We buried the dead butterfly in a corner of the playground of our school. We decided to free another butterfly from the insect cage.

The teacher opened a small opening in the cage, saying, "Let's see off the butterfly as it can fly to Pyongyang."

The butterfly flew inside the cage for a while and flew outside.

The butterfly flew higher and higher, saying here and there. My classmates said, "Ah! The butterfly has gone." They seemed to be lonely.

I was on the verge of crying. So, I said to myself silently, "Goodby." (Chong San Jun, a 3rd grade of the elementary school of the Kita Osaka Korean Elementary and Junior High School)

Korean Paintings
"Chinson Falls, Mt. Myohyang"
By Li Ju Hyok (1978)

OLD TALE

Punishment by Strawberries

There are wicked men in any times. Here is a story of a wise girl who argued a wily man down with perfect finesse.

This story is told in a village, located to the west of Raju in North Hamgyong Province.

Long time ago, a tenderhearted girl lived together with her old parents quietly in their village.

One day, the girl accidentally came face to face with a procession of a local governor. Surprised, she stepped aside from the procession.

A pot-bellied and corpulent bailiff said, sticking his head out of a palanquin, "You, there, beautiful girl! Don't you want to come to my mansion and serve there? Then, I may accept all your requests."

"I have old parents. There are other suffering peasants in my village. So, I can't go."

The girl refused his offer politely. But the bailiff got angry, because she refused his offer.

He was a selfish man. Besides, when he saw a woman, he would put her to an impossible task and take liberty with her. So, he was disliked by the villagers.

"If you can't accept my offer, go to the mountain, pluck strawberries and bring them to me."

"Now, it is winter. How can I find strawberries in this season? It is impossible." The girl said respectfully.

"What? It is impossible? Who do you think I am? I don't pardon your retort!"

Helplessly, the girl went to the mountain but it was impossible for her to find strawberries.

Coming back to him, "I was bitten in my leg by a serpent when I was looking for strawberries."

"What? The serpent gave your leg a bite? Don't tell such a life," the bailiff ranted in a loud voice. But the girl answered back, "If so, where can I find strawberries in the severe winter?" The bailiff lost his temper and ordered his follower to throw the girl into a nearby pond.

Villagers, who heard the exchange of words between her and the bailiff, helped the admirable girl out of the pond at once.

After that, for a little while, the girl disappeared from the village.

Half a year had passed since then. One day, a well-groomed lady appeared in front of the bailiff.

"I want to serve at your home," she said.

He was surprised to see her, and looked as if paralyzed. But he said, trying to keep his dignity, "You are the girl at that time, aren't you? You shouldn't repeat a retort to me."

The bailiff gloated over the godsend.

"At any rate, I have something I'd like to show you. I have been to the Dragon's Palace, thanks to you. This is procurement for you," saying so, the girl took out ripe corns and chestnuts.

The bailiff felt relieved. He loosened his mouth a little and leaned forward.

"I told the Dragon king about you. Then, he told me to take you to him."

"Are there all sorts of treasures ?"

"The Dragon's Palace is filled with treasures."

The bailiff's eyes glared with avarice. "Take me there, Hurry up!"

He went alone to the lake.

"To the Dragon's Palace, to the Dragon's Palace.

The golconda is mine.

The lovely girl, too, is mine.

All the world is mine. . . ."

He walked into the lake, while singing.

"Now, the pond is as deep as my height. Can't I see the Dragon's Palace yet?"

The girl, standing on the shore of the lake, cried out. "Go ahead rapidly to the depth beyond your height, please."

"All right, I see. Do you come with me?"

"I'll come at once as soon as I'm ready."

Meanwhile, the bailiff was caught in the mire and sank fast under water, crying "Aigu! Aigu! (A Korean exclamation of surprise, fear, pain, etc.)

The beautiful girl returned to her village at once and rejoiced at meeting her parents and the villagers again.

(Continued from page 4)

"Tokyo's Defense Dilemma," Newsweek, December 6, 1982, p. 62.

[38] Ibid., p. 64.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid. It's significant to note the use of the phrases "new mood" and "shifting consensus" in a defense context, especially in an international news magazine like Newsweek. This seems to indicate a wide recognition of Japan's changing attitudes toward militarism.

[41] Geoffrey Murray, "Nakasone: Ambitious and Outspoken," Christian Science Monitor, November 26, 1982, p. 3.

[42] Kim Rogal, Kim Willenson, and Ayako Doi, "Nakasone: The Shogun's Man," Newsweek, December 6, 1982, p. 62.

[43] "Peace and Security in Statistics," Japan Quarterly (April-June 1982): 197-199.

Korean Politics in the 1970s and 1980s

—By Kim Dae Jung—

Mr. Kim Dae Jung now in the United States on March 10 made a speech at Harvard University.

In the March 10 speech at a prestigious university in the United States, Mr. Kim gave an overall review of south Korean politics in the 1970s and

Stressing that Syngman Rhee, Pak Jung Hi and Chon Du Hwan and their supporter the Unites States are responsible for the failure of democracy in south Korea, Mr. Kim expressed south Koreans' resolve to bring about democracy in the 1980s.

The People's Korea will carry a summary of Kim's speech at Harvard in two issues. Here is the first part of his speech entitled, "Korean Politics in the 1970s and 1980s."

Men and women of Harvard and my fellow countrymen and women!

It is a great honor for me to be here tonight. I cannot think of a place more appropriate than Harvard to speak about democracy. Harvard University has an unrivalled reputation not only as a center of learning but also as a market place of democratic ideas and as the training ground of America's and the world's leading democratic citizens.

Even though the title of my talk suggests a focus on Korean politics in the 1970s and the 1980s, I will broaden the scope of my discussion to include the remote and recent history of Korea. Specifically, I will begin by examining the democratic elements which have been part of our 5000-year history. I will also discuss the politics of the 1950s during the Rhee Syngman regime. I believe a fuller appreciation of the current political situation in Korea requires a broader view of our political history.

I. Korean Politics Before the 1970s

(A) The Fundamental Nature of Korean Democracy

Democracy is a political system that has its origin in the West, but its principles are not unique to the West. Historically and institutionally, democratic systems are different from one another. They are, however, all based upon the principles of freedom, justice, and human dignity.

The quest for these democratic ideals has been pervasive in Korean history.

The TONGHAK uprising of 1894 was a peasant revolutionary movement of a democratic character. For example, it demanded land reform, emancipation of slaves, a widow's right to re-marry, abolition of the rigid stratification system, and anti-imperialist struggles. Even though the uprising was frustrated in the end, it left an indelible impact upon our quest for human rights and democracy.

The March 1, 1919 movement was another example of our continuing search for national independence and democracy. In fact, the Shanghai Provisional Government was founded on, and reflected, the spirit and objectives of the March 1 movement.

Clearly, then, the Korean people have amply demonstrated their democratic aspirations, ideology and capacity. On the other hand, they have lacked experience in democratic politics. Naturally, we could not mature democratically under Japanese colonial rule. Also, we did not attain democracy on our own; it was handed to us. This is a major reason democracy has not taken root in Korean society.

There was another impediment to democratic development. In search of bureaucratic stability and continuity, the American military government retained and recruited pro-Japanese elements that were experienced in colonial administration. These individuals quickly seized control of the government and obstructed democratic development.

(B) The Rhee Syngman Regime in the 1950s

In an attempt to protect his power Kim Koo, who had returned from China, Rhee formed a coalition with pro-Japanese individuals. Thus, the Rhee regime was made up mainly, not of patriots who had fought against Japanese imperialism, but of collaborators with the Japanese colonial authorities. As such, it not only damaged the integrity of our nation but also violated the moral expectation that those who fought for justice should be justly rewarded.

Moreover, Rhee used anti-Communism and national security as pretexts to suppress democracy and to justify the perpetuation of a one-man rule. It is Rhee, then, who passed onto subsequent dictators the basic political formulae for authoritarian politics.

(C) The April 19, 1960 Student Revolution and the Chang Myon Administration

Unfortunately, the April 19 revolution was a student revolution and not a national revolution. Therefore, when the students returned to campus, the principal revolutionary force left the political scene, leaving a huge political vacuum. It is for this reason that the Chang Administration was hard-pressed to legitimize its rule and lacked power to implement a forceful and consistent policy.

Other factors also contributed to the brevity of the democratic restoration. Senseless splintering of the opposition parties made the matter worse. Moreover, some journalists admit that irresponsible journalism added fuel to the already chaotic situation.

(D) The Park Regime in the 1960s: The Constitutional Amendment for a Third Presidential Term for Park

In the Spring of 1963, the political situation began to stabilize. The Chang Government was able to consolidate its foundation, and cool heads began to prevail among the elements previously responsible for division and chaos. Suddenly, for no justifiable reason, Park Chung Hee staged a military coup d'etat.

Park insisted that the coup was necessary for anti-Communism and national security, both of which were allegedly being undermined by the chaotic internal politics. According to an official account published by the Park regime itself, however, the plot to overthrow Chang Myon started only 13 days after Chang formed his administration in August 1960.

Initially, Park pledged to return to the military after a short revolutionary period; instead, he plunged into civilian politics. It should be noted, however, that his first two elections in 1963 and 1967 were by direct popular vote and were relatively fair. Park's military rule thereby gained a considerable measure of legitimacy.

The 1967 National Assembly election, however, was a quite different story. There were many irregularities which forced the National Assembly to shut down for six long months after the election. The scandal reached such crisis proportions that Park had to admit the widespread irregularities.

Why was the 1967 presidential election relatively fair but the national assembly election rigged? It was revealed later that Park was setting up the national assembly for the 1969 constitutional amendment that would allow him to run for a third presidential term.

Although Park did win the 1967 election, the margin of his victory was too close for comfort. This prompted him to scheme to manipulate the constitution prior to the next election. But, for this, he needed the courage and confidence to make public his foul design. A number of events played into his hands.

First, in return for sending Korean troops to Vietnam, Park secured the wholesale support of the Johnson Administration. Second, finally resolving the protracted difficulties in Korean-Japanese relations, Park was able to obtain large amounts of Japanese aid. Consequently, he had the blessings of both the United States and Japan for tightening his hold on power. This gave him the courage and confidence to push for the constitutional amendment.

Last, but not least, Park was able to lay bare his lust for power because he had completed the formation of the totalitarian state by perfecting the politics of fear and the organization of power.

So in 1969, Park Chung Hee violated all the laws and spared no tricks in railroading through the constitutional amendment. He thus exposed his raw desire for a permanent hold on power and breached the national aspirations for a democratic political system.

II. The Park Regime in the 1970s: The Yushin Dictatorship

(A) The Political Situation Before the Yushin System

When Kim Dae Jung, the opposition party's presidential candidate in 1971, several salient features emerged.

First, popular support for the opposition candidate had never been so high, and popular participation in his campaign never so extensive. Large numbers of clergymen, students, and intellectuals joined in my campaign. For instance, some 8,000 college students volunteered to serve as the opposition party's observers at ballot boxes in order to prevent irregularities. As the opposition party's candidate, I was not, therefore, representing only a particular political party but the majority of the people.

Second, I advocated abolition of the local reserve army system, the promotion of North-South talks, the creation of peace in the peninsula through cooperation of the Big Four, the implementation of a mass participatory economy to facilitate fair distribution under the free enterprise system, and the smashing of the conspiracy for permanent one-man rule. This platform became the focal point of the public's concern and generated tremendous popular support.

For the first time in Korean history, the 1971 presidential election appeared to boil down to confrontation on specific issues. The election was thus viewed very favorably at home and abroad. In spite of the government's flaunting power and money without limit, I managed to poll 46% of the vote even by the government's own count. I won in all major cities, including an overwhelming victory in Seoul. In every city, hundreds of thousands of voters turned out to hear our campaign speeches. When it was all over, it was clear to everyone both at home and abroad that I, rather than one election that Park did not win.

It is important to note that in this election the Korean people discovered themselves, their potential, and raised their consciousness as democratic citizens.

Park Chung Hee was jarred by the people's intense desire for new leadership and by the maturation of their democratic capacity. Apparently realizing that another direct election would not win him another term in the Blue House, he began to plot a second constitutional amendment by coup d'etat-like methods.

Desperately searching for a rationale to extend his rule permanently, Park adopted the fundamental features of my proposal for peaceful unification, which had won resounding popular approval during the campaign. This was after he had accused me of pro-communism for advocating peaceful coexistence and peaceful dialogue with the North as necessary steps towards peaceful unification.

At any rate, Park managed to hold a Red Cross Conference between North and South, soon followed by high-level political mulgated the Yushin constitution. On October 17, 1972, Park promulgated the Yushin constitution, alleging, that it was imperative to create a system suited for the tasks of unification. He quashed all opposition, suspended parts of the constitution, dissolved the national assembly, and passed the Yushin constitution under martial law. In violation of the constitution, the Cabinet proposed and passed more than a hundred laws, and democracy appeared to have been dealt a lethal blow.

During the campaign, I had warned the Korean people of Park's conspiracy to install himself a Generalissimo with life-long power. Also, while supporting in principle the North-South Joint Communique, I had expressed concern in a news conference on July 13 that unification could very well be exploited as a pretext to rationalize the system of one-man rule.

Such statements were duly recorded in the Fulbright Report on the Korean political situation. Claiming the principle of noninterference, however, the United States steadfastly maintained silence over the declaration of Yushin. In reality, this was because the United States was so preoccupied with south Korean stability that it did not want to rock the boat.

(To be continued)

S. Korean Businessman Defects To Pyongyang

A south Korean businessman named Kim Song Bae who had sought political asylum in the DPRK arrived in Pyongyang, the KCNA reported on May 21.

Kim Song Bae hailing from Seoul served at the Health and Social Welfare Department of the Pusan City Hall and the Economic Planning Board after finishing the English literature course of Seoul Normal College and, later, engaged himself in business, taking up the posts of the director of a civil engineering company, the director of a heating facilities sales company and the director of an industrial lubricating oil company, a U.S. agency.

The following is what he had to say about the motive behind his defection:

It is not for commendation or for glory or for reward that I have come over to the north.

I have come here because I, as a member of the nation, could not approve the political system and policy of the south and could not keep even my elementary human conscience there.

The south has been reduced to an estate of the United States where it has set up a military dictatorial regime and exercises its control by an invisible intellectual method.

There are, of course, the "president," the "national assembly" and the "ministers" in the south. But they are all mariontettes who are chosen by the United States for its own purpose and who act on its instructions.

Under the crippled system of the south, a man of patriotic conscience cannot utter a word of concern for the future of the country and the nation or a word of protest, even though nuclear weapons of the United States are stockpiled there.

Everywhere in the southern land the people are bound hand and foot and even gagged by the hideous power of the military dictators. Under such situation I did not want to live there any more.

I longed for a land of bliss where today and future of the nation are guaranteed and a prosperity of the generations to come is promised. Listening to the radio of the north systematically and reading books introducing the north, I keenly felt that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under the policy of respected President Kim Il Sung held up in esteem by the nation and respected by the world people, is the place where our compatriots and me should live, and I nursed my determination to come over to the northern half of the country from long ago.

I attempted to come over to the Republic across the near truce line, but to no avail. On April 30 I left south Korea, determined to come here through a third country, though it was a far course, and at last I have been embraced in the bosom of the Republic which I had yearned after all the time.

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